



SPECIAL
COLLECTIONS
DOUGLAS
LIBRARY



QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY
AT KINGSTON

KINGSTON ONTARIO CANADA

The British Constitution invulnerable.

ANIMADVERSIONS

ON A

LATE PUBLICATION,

ENTITLED

THE JOCKEY CLUB.

Audendum est, ut illustrata veritas pateat,
Multique ab errore liberentur.

LACTANT.

Let *him* cry Blackmoore—Devil, whose skin is white,
— — — — —

Let *him* reprove that's innocent : ——— in vain—
The *Gracchi* of feditio must complain.

TATE IMIT. JUV.

THE SECOND EDITION.

LONDON :

Printed for S. M. BISHOP, Great Newport Street,
Long Acre, and sold by OWEN, No. 168, Picca-
dilly; W. STEWART, No. 194, Piccadilly; T.
KAY, opposite Somerset House, Strand; FOURDRI-
NIER, No. 20, Charing Cross; and all the Book-
sellers.

Ala. 1792. B75

CONTENTS,

<i>Introduction</i>	—	—	—	1
<i>Moral and Political Virtue</i>			—	13
<i>Law</i>	—	—	—	32
<i>Libels</i>	—	—	—	58
<i>The System</i>	—	—	—	79
<i>Political Liberty</i>		—	—	93
<i>Portraits</i>	—	—	—	105
<i>Conclusion</i>	—	—	—	122

INTRODUCTION.

THE evil principle, through a policy the most refined, is commonly concealed under an external appearance of sanctity ; and sentiments of morality are ever uppermost in the professions of the men, whose poisoned arrows are directly aimed at the existence of all moral excellence.

Under this pretext we behold, volume after volume teeming from

the press, a publication containing a pretended description of characters well known in this country for their high rank, or their great talents ; which is interspersed with relations the most indecent and the most scandalous—in which propriety, and humanity, and truth, are equally outraged.

In this work, called the *Jockey Club*, is held up to universal detestation, not merely the blacklegs of Newmarket ; not only the characters (at all times sufficiently numerous) whose execrable habits of life require no such labour to make them notorious ; but the just and the unjust, the amiable and the brutish, the pious and the abandoned, vice and virtue, truth and falsehood, wif-

wisdom and folly, meet, as with a pestilential blast, one common, wretched fate !

The author of this libellous publication, drawing encouragement from the sale of his pamphlets, becomes bloated with insolence, and gives the reins to an unqualified abuse, compounded of infamous falsehoods and daring calumnies.

No character, however exalted in public, or however amiable in private life, is found too sacred to escape his invectives—who, with an unparalleled effrontery, sets himself up as the judge of mankind, *because* “ he is conscious of his numberless errors ;” and as an “ atonement” for his own deficiencies, by an original

ginal kind of penance, “imposed on himself,” undertakes the task of “enforcing,” as he calls it, “the practice of liberality, virtue, and truth in others!”

If there are few who so readily speak the truth of *themselves*, there are not wanting in these days many men whose characters, if not worse, are certainly not a tittle better, from whom every day is heard the hue and cry of “Corruption—tyranny—luxuries,” and all the rest of the cant to be found in the common places of their predecessors, from the time that the constitution of this country has been the pride and glory of its best and most enlightened subjects, and the admiration of the whole world.

Of

Of the publication in question, we are mistaken if we suppose that the *characters* of our nobility and gentry are the only objects of its malevolence. The plot is deeper laid than the assassination of *individual* reputation. The uplifted arm of sedition is levelled at the jurisprudence of this country, at its ancient constitution, and at every law and every contract human and divine. Whatever of novelty may be attempted by this retailer of his hackneyed thesis, the doctrine is the same with all those of his Jacobin brethren ; it is the old cuckoo note that we hear, but the bird is perched on another tree.

From continental anarchies and horrors, the inconsiderate and the
lawless

lawless are insidiously endeavouring to kindle in this country a flame, which nothing short of the blood of its inhabitants deluging the land will be able to extinguish.

“ The *aristocracy* of this country,” and “ the luxury of courts and palaces,” are the ghosts which haunt the peaceful vigils, and “ excite horrors” in the imaginations of men, not seldom to be seen immured within the confines of our prisons for their nefarious practices.

The present situation of *France*, is represented as having an intimate connection with the politics of the English nation. Happy for us, however, the artifice is too glaring, and the effects of that chaos which
with

with every hour come to light, though late, come nevertheless sufficiently in time to warn us of the danger; and to counteract the pompous adulations lavished on a system, (if such it can be called) in which religion, policy, and prudence, seem to have been considered as *aristocrats*, and to have long since received their passport.

In seeking some channel through which *sedition* might be navigated with greater facility, it was soon discovered that *slander*, from its various course, and from the velocity of its current, was, in every view, most favourable to convey the freight. Among the numerous pamphlets, which are made the vehicles of scandal,

dal, those known by the name of *Magazines* furnish us with a variety of notorious instances of its popularity and success; where nothing more is necessary, to insure a rapid sale, than with a few sheets of miscellaneous compilation, to include some shameless history of a tête-à-tête.

In this fashion of addressing the Public, such writers have in view, objects not less of policy than pride. “Censure,” says a great moralist, “is willingly indulged, because it
“always implies some superiority;
“men please themselves with imagining that they have made a
“deeper search or wider survey
“than others, and detected faults
I “and

“ and follies which have escaped
“ vulgar observation.”

He who would fancy himself above the rest of men, it is only necessary for him, in his marauding, to single out characters distinguished for their great talents or their high station ; and however invulnerable the objects, provided he can rave and foam and cut the air, will soon begin to swell in his own estimation, and sacrifice to his own shrine. He whose object is to be heard, must sound the trumpet, and the blast of slander will reverberate far and wide : or sing to the tune of *salus populi*, and bursts of applause will resound from every jail in England. If such can make

c

them-

themselves heard it is enough, though it be only by confusion and discord.

To all such writings as the *Jockey Club*, would belong nothing but silence and contempt, did not the falsehoods, the indecencies, the seditious doctrines, and the daring libels contained in this infamous publication call aloud for execration and for punishment. To prove these assertions is the object of the following animadversions. And according to a former observation, as it is to *principles* not less than *persons* against which are directed the firebrands of sedition; to detect the sophistry of the former, will most effectually bring discredit on the latter;

latter ; concerning which it is only necessary to say with Cicero, “ *Per-*
“ *diti hominis profligatique maledic-*
“ *tis nullius gloria dignitasq ; vio-*
“ *latur.*”

Moral

ANIMADVERSIONS, &c.

Moral and Political Virtue.

“ **W**HO, willing to make some *expia-*
“ *tion* for his innumerable follies and extra-
“ vagances, is *endeavoring* to inculcate the
“ principles of all moral and political vir-
“ tue*.

Such is the account which this writer publishes of himself to the world ; we may therefore be allowed to speak of his *motives*, as he himself has mentioned them, and to consider how far the execution seems adapted to the purpose.

* Jockey Club, Part II. p. 84.

To collect the particulars of this gentleman's " follies and extravagancies," would be a task neither very difficult, nor very grateful. His own essays of this kind are sufficient to deter from such attempts all his successors in that kind of biography ; excepting those, whose miserable occasions oblige them to hazard all effects, for the chance of extricating themselves from the cause.

We shall therefore dismiss all his former " extravagances and follies," and only notice a little the last of this description, which however is not the least.

This doctrine of " Expiation ;"—this act of averting punishment by " pious orgies," favors very much of popery ; except indeed the penitent gentleman is become a convert to the opinions of Arminius : who, supposing him to hold the doctrine, would not we presume readily admit the inference. But it may very safely be taken for granted, had he lived to see his opinions in the garb of modern refinement, he would have dis-
avowed

avowed both the one and the other. It must therefore be admitted that this species of "expiation" is of an original kind*, for which the author must have the sole and exclusive merit.

Let us see then how well he has acquitted himself in this, and whether the sacrifice be consumed in vain.

Without entering into a formal definition of moral and political virtue, it will be rea-

* Another method, not less original, of "atoning for numberless errors," was exhibited a few years back in Ireland :

Sentence of death was passed on a malefactor, who had, besides several other robberies, stopped on the highway, and committed the most daring outrages on the persons and property of several ladies, who were going in their carriage to an assembly. After his sentence, being conducted back to his cell, he struck the jailor on his face with a quart bottle, who immediately went and shewed himself to the Court in a gore of blood. The Judge ordering the instant execution of the criminal, the poor penitent, anxious to "atone" for his own enormities, and "to enforce the practice of virtue in others," being obliged to ascend the ladder, actually went up upon his *knees*!

dily admitted that the following subjects have at least some *relation* to it; viz. Decency, Charity, and Truth.

Decency is here considered in opposition to *obscenity*; among the instances of which in the works of this author must be reckoned those *descriptions*, in which gross ideas are concealed under equivocal expressions, and indecent subjects amplified (if possible) with greater indecency.

There are some things practised in the world, which it is immoral even to mention; how much more so to enter into the *detail* of such vile abominations! Every description of this nature, more effectually serves the cause of vice than if the avowed intention of the author had been to write in its defence. What moral or political virtue is to be learned from such passages as the idle and obscene tale respecting his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence*?

* Part II. page 2.

The base treatment of Her Majesty the Queen of England, and the passage that relates to the King in that connection? Or from the note respecting the Prince of Wales, Mrs. Fitzherbert, &c.*?

If these passages be not sufficient, others might be referred to of still more infamous tendency. These however will be more than sufficient, excepting to those, to whom nothing would suffice, or be too bad.

To this subject might be added, this writer's attempts towards the subversion of all order and propriety: his affected contempt of every person, the least degree above himself: his abuse of magistrates, and uniform endeavor to overthrow all civil authority. But on this head it would be absurd to expect more than is professed.

Charity is the next moral virtue we are to seek in these volumes. And if there be any *love* in invectives, in the distortion of

* Part III. p. 143.

characters, or in illiberal insinuations; then shall we find love abounding, and be almost “ smothered in roses*”.

Human decisions are often marked with ignorance, caprice, and malevolence.

Partial to themselves—inflexible to the failings of others, men seldom judge as they would choose to be judged.

Who made this man judge over us? Who gave to him his judiciary power? Does not OMNISCIENCE behold the evil and the good—who knows the *time* and the *measure* of his vengeance?

The crimes (if the accused *be* guilty) belong to themselves; and only *then* become public evils, when these shameless reporters, by raising from “ their dread abode” every black and cursed deed, hold them up as examples to vice, and transfer the guilt upon themselves.

* Voltaire.

Let

Let us take a view (it shall be very transitory) of this man's inquisition; who, like his brethren, alternately tortures and tempts confession.

We cannot sufficiently admire the laconic energy and truth of the following declaration :

“ National prejudices are illiberal and unjust.”

But the consistency of the writer who records this sage apophthegm is passing excellent; for he immediately after makes the following *liberal* and *just* observation :

“ We never yet knew *one* person, born
 “ and educated on the north of the Tweed,
 “ whose habits and disposition were not of
 “ a fordid cast !” This reminds *us* also of a maxim, not less true than the foregoing :

“ The *slander* of some people is as great
 “ a commendation as the *praise* of
 “ others.”

Not forgetting this adage, nor the former, (as both are well adapted to the present subject) we shall proceed, and give a sketch of the author's liberality, when speaking of the *Duke of Montrose* *:

“ In this character, pride and meanness
 “ are firmly united. Formal and distant,
 “ sometimes affable and pliant, where he
 “ imagines his interest to consist. The insi-
 “ dious smile on his face should be a cau-
 “ tion against the canker in his heart †.”

* None of those who have the honour to be personally acquainted with this character, need to be informed, that the author of this *base* description could not have taken a more effectual method of discovering his indiscriminate malevolence, than by calumniating this nobleman. Those who are acquainted with the President of *Scot's Hall*; those who have travelled near *Buchanan House* in Scotland, and particularly such as have resided or called at that mansion, will spurn at this lying representation. Impartial in his opinions, condescending in his manners, hospitable, benevolent, and sincere, the *Duke of Montrose* is well known, and not less beloved. His character will not be injured by slander; nor need it receive any additional lustre from panegyric.

† Part II. p. 27.

This

This physiognomist, this learned calculator of nativities, gives us another specimen of his art, when speaking of the *Earl of Grosvenor* :

“ In tracing the lineaments of his Lordship’s countenance, we behold the faithful index of a sordid vicious mind *.”

Keen glances of censure, generally proceed from a temper dark and involved, like flashes of lightning from a gloomy sky. The minds of some men are never so much disturbed, as when Kings and Ministers occupy their thoughts. At such seasons, fogs and mists arise, and involve in impenetrable darkness all “ moral and political virtue.”

What does the man mean—or rather, does he know himself, who, when speaking of the British Monarch, deservedly the delight of all his subjects, breaks out into the following incoherent jargon. In arraigning his Majesty’s temperance, he says,

* Part I. page 26.

“ *They*

“ *They will tell you*, it is a necessary ob-
 “ ligation, imposed by — — — —
 “ — — — — —
 “ which precludes all indulgence in intem-
 “ perate excesses ; and as to his chastity,
 “ *they pretend*,” (whoever *they* are, our
 author makes *one*, we presume) “ that it
 “ exists — — — — — and
 “ that once in particular, during the —
 “ — — — — — broke out
 “ with ungovernable violence, and that
 “ — — — — —
 “ and imperial virgin, &c. &c.”

If more be wanting, more may be found.
 So said *Dr. Johnson*, when haranguing on
 a pudding ; and so we may truly say when
 speaking of this hodgepodge.

Not contented with abusing the King in
 his public and private * capacities, this as-
 assin

* Speaking of his Majesty, after his recovery from
 the illness with which he was afflicted, this writer in-
 solently and basely affirms, that “ the *first* act of ex-
 “ ecutive power, was, sentence of death on the num-

passion of characters, to complete his work, includes both soul and body, and basely insinuates that the amiable example, and uniform piety, of his Majesty, are all hypocrisy.

“ As for his piety *, it is malignantly
 “ reported to consist more in shew than
 “ in practice †.”

Who is the malignant dæmon that reports this? Whoever read it or heard it,

“berless wretches, who had been waiting many
 “ months, &c.” “ The dreadful warrant of death
 “ came down ; no respite ! no mitigation ! no mercy !
 “ No *distinction of crime*, no difference of punishment.”
 To close this detestable description, he adds, “ *If*
 “ compassion had been resident in the Royal breast,
 “ this surely was an occasion to bring it forth into
 “ action !”

* The Chinese boast of one of their Emperors, who governed, they say, like Heaven ; that is, by his example. And in spite of the infamous attempts of his slanderers, history will record such another prince in the person of George III.

† Part III. page 61.

before

before the three volumes of scandalous *reports* were published, called the *Jockey Club*? This *Reporter*, in a note, has recorded another *report*, grounded on the same respectable authority—That

—“ A certain great Prince carries his
 “ cash account to church with him, and
 “ settles the debtor and creditor during the
 “ time of sermon *.

This great Prince, to his great slanderer, may apply the answer made by Diogenes to one of his enemies :

“ No man will believe *you*, when you
 “ speak *ill of me*, any more than they would
 “ *me*, if I were to speak *well of you*.”

Mr. *Pitt* is another remarkable personage, with respect to whom this judicial astrologer, after having assumed an ill-omened aspect, breaks out into declamations as well concerning things past, and present, as those which are to come. Of Mr. *Pitt* he informs us, that

* Part III. page 61.

“ When

“ When borne triumphantly through
 “ the streets of London, by his credulous
 “ and deluded countrymen,—while *they*
 “ were indulging every sanguine hope,
 “ &c.—*he* was meditating *future* schemes
 “ of personal ambition.” And lest we
 should be left in the dark with respect to his
motives, any more than to his then embryo
plans, the *Prophet* informs us that these
 schemes were approved by Mr. *Pitt*, as
 “ the most effectual method of insuring to
 “ himself the gifts of fortune.”

Mr. *Pitt's* deserved and incontestible popularity with the nation, is a fact, the reflection of which stings almost to madness the enemies of his administration.

Cool and collected, firm and persevering, invulnerable to all the arrows of invective, to all the efforts of malignity, his fame increases in proportion to the base attempts which are daily practised to destroy his reputation.

The author of the *Jockey Club*, finding *words* insufficient to express his superlative ideas, breaks out into large capital *letters*, and dubs him,

“ THE GRAND APOSTATE.”

These volumes are full of wonders ! We must not therefore be surprised how *that* man can be called an *Apostate*, concerning whom we are told by *prophecy*, that at the beginning of his career, he was “ meditating future schemes of personal ambition ;” and who, at this time, it is said by the same sublime authority, is actually realizing those very schemes ! We have been used to conceive, that an individual professing one thing, and meaning another, may be an hypocrite ; but how such an one can be called an *apostate*, is unknown to all except *The wise man* and the *prophet*.

Delaying for the present any remarks upon Lord *Thurlow*, in the horrid garb which this caricature represents him ; or of the several
other

other characters distorted and mangled in that work; we shall pass on in search of the delightful object—"moral and political
"virtue."

But, before we leave the foul and dismal road which we have last been traversing, let us hearken to a strain of our immortal bard:

" Good name in man and woman —
 " Is the immediate jewel of their souls;
 " Who steals my purse, steals trash; 'tis some-
 " thing, nothing;
 " 'Twas mine, 'tis his, and has been slave to
 " thousands:
 " But he that filches from me my good name,
 " Robs me of that, which not enriches him,
 " And makes me poor indeed. *

The philosopher, who carried about his lanthorn to seek an honest man, was, it seems, to have broken it when the object of his search was accomplished; but alas! it remained entire. It is wrong to anticipate evil; but it is much to be feared, that our

* Othello.

search in these volumes will be attended with little better success, if the object of our enquiry be *truth*.

Of the man, who professes it to be his “avowed purpose to hold up the mirror of truth;” * which, in another place he assures us, “is the basis of his work” †—who “disclaims all personalities ‡ !!”—who, good man, declares it to be his “principal care to maintain in all its purity the character of *strict, impartial* justice, and who in *no one* instance is “conscious of having departed from it!” ||—Of the man, who is neither “the slave of prejudice, or the dupe of error §;”—who protests that “the petty tales of scandal have *escaped* his notice;”—that he is not “actuated by malevolent motives;” **—of this man, who if he *seriously* says all this, we can only say, that his *testimony*, as well as his modesty, may *sometimes* be justly suspected. The following syllogism will best explain our meaning:

* Part I. page 51. † Idem page 77. ‡ Idem page 65.
 || Idem p. 143. § Dedication, Part II. ** Ibid.

“ National prejudices are illiberal and
“ unjust:”

The man who says this, also affirms
that—

“ He has not in one instance departed
“ from *strict impartial justice*:”—

But the very same man has likewise said,
that

“ He never yet knew one person,
“ born and educated on the North
“ side of the Tweed, whose habits
“ and dispositions were not of a ve-
“ ry fordid cast !”—

Ergo
That Man.—

Q. E. D.

Variety would not be wanting, were we
to pursue this subject, but we conceive it
would be variety without pleasure to dwell
on the multitude of notorious falsehoods *

* “ Who what he never saw proclaims for true,
“ And vends for secrets what he never knew:
“ Who blabs whate’er is whispered in his ear,
“ And, fond of talk, does all he knows declare:
“ That man’s a wretch---of HIM, beware, beware.

Creech Imit. Hor.

with

with which this work in question so uniformly abounds. One more instance, therefore, shall rid us of the disagreeable task “ *we have imposed upon ourselves,*” with respect to the fruitless search in these volumes for “ moral or political virtue.” The author of this work says—

“ He disclaims all personalities,”
 That “ truth is the basis of his work;”
 But his work indisputably is throughout
 full of personalities :

Ergo

When he says he disclaims them, he says
 ———— What you please but *truth*.

Such is the “ moral tendency,” such “ the strict impartiality,” which the author has the assurance to tell the world his slanderous volumes inculcate and maintain; whilst decency, charity, and truth, are most foully, and most unmercifully outraged.

To make his work as ridiculous as it is infamous, he gravely pretends he could
 publish

publish accounts, compared to which, what he has already said, “ is perfect charity :” were he not “ restrained (and we know not who can *restrain* laughing on hearing this *modest* motive from such a writer)—“ by “ motives of delicacy towards the sex!!!”

But as this penitent gentleman appears so miserably deficient in the method of “ expiating” his “ innumerable follies and extravagances,” we recommend him to study the letter and spirit of a verse in Mr. *Pope’s* Universal Prayer. Concerning the latter part of which, however, we will for the present excuse him; for we do not desire him to anticipate his own punishment.

“ Teach me to feel another’s woe,
 “ To HIDE the fault I see;
 “ That mercy I to other’s shew,
 “ That mercy shew to me.”

LAW.

THE vindicatory function of the Law, has ever been a tremendous subject in the contemplation of the men, who, conscious of guilt, tremble at its pains and penalties. Stung by the reflection that justice, though sometimes tardy, is always sure; they perceive no avenue of escape from its vengeance but by its utter destruction.

Such is the radical cause of those torrents of abuse which are poured on the laws of this country; where the excellence of the code, and the impartiality of the administration, (the imperfections of all human systems considered) are deservedly the admiration of the world.

Prescription has ever been considered by wise and sober men as a second law of nature; concerning which, direct or indirect,
every

furious competition for notoriety. Of these, *Thomas Paine*, and the author of the *Jockey Club*, determined to be the most remarkable, have so far succeeded by being the most daring. Both of these promulgators of *political virtue* inculcate the same excellent principles of subordination; and agreeing in their doctrines, do not always vary in their happy choice even of words. An instance of this follows:

“ Instead of referring to *musty records*,
 “ and *mouldy parchments*, to prove
 “ that the rights of the living are
 “ lost——*M. de la Fayette*. * &c.”

“ Can it be imagined that if the exam-
 “ ple prospers, (of *France*) that England
 “ will long continue her reverence to the
 “ *antiquity of musty parchments*, or to the
 “ virtues of buried ancestors?”† These
 passages require no comment; no inten-
 tion can be more plain, no language more
 intelligible.

* *Paine's Rights of Man*, p. 5, six-penny edition.

† *Jockey Club*, Part III. p. 167.

In this their patriotic work, these two gentlemen have made a kind of division. *Thomas Paine*, not so much regarding *persons*, undertakes to attack *principles*; runs back through whole centuries, overturning all in his career, till he finds out old *Adam*; and says, we must there begin to fix our authorities, and from him to draw our precedents! The author of the *Jockey Club*, falls foul on persons, scouts heraldry, declaims in favour of equality, and imagines he has excelled all his competitors, by telling us that some noblemen are very wicked; that his pamphlets have an “extraordinary sale,” and that he will never cease to “impose on himself” the task of finding out more sinners!

“Tell truth, and shame the devil,” says *Earl Percy* to *Owen Glendower*; but there are men to be found, who when *Larv* is the subject, imagine their fame will increase in proportion to the falsehoods they utter concerning it. The writer in question, when this theme occupies his thoughts, is always uncommonly agitated, and breaks

out into expressions, in which suffer violence, every principle of candour, and all regard to truth.

Such is the more than ordinary passion into which the author is precipitated, when, with savage fury, he drags to his tribunal the Lord, late Chancellor, *Thurlow*.

In his arraignment of this character, the lunatic raves and grinds his teeth in a most frightful fashion. We must not therefore wonder, that if what he says should be destitute both of truth and consistency. “To what cause,” he asks, “are we to trace his surprising elevation? To his capacity and extraordinary acquirements? No; for, spite of vulgar opinion, they are very confined.” Where is the man, who having a character to lose, would utter such an assertion, when the fact is notorious, that upon the foundation of his great natural capacity and extraordinary acquisitions, is built the elevation of the man, who had dwelt in obscurity to this day, but for those talents which before

I

were

were never disputed: and who was appointed one of the *King's Council*, and afterwards *Solicitor General*, purely on account of his merit, when all the official departments of the law were filled by men of known abilities, and of established reputation. For the same reasons was this great lawyer appointed *Attorney General*, and afterwards promoted to the *Seals*; a situation to which no man was better entitled; from a perseverance in study so uncommon, as to inspire in his contemporaries a prediction of his subsequent advancement; and in the discharge of this high office, from his attention, regularity, firmness and conscientiousness.

A strong presumption in favour of any report is drawn from its consistency. And never was there in this view a more wretched essay presented to the public than that of our author, who describes that character as “cringing and abject,” which he immediately after calls “arrogant and overbearing,” “ferocious,” and “never yielding.”

Of

Of the unqualified abuse and base falsehoods which fill up the rest of his declamation, which is the *ne plus ultra* of all infolence, it would be absurd to attempt a refutation.—“ His decrees (Lord *Thurlow*’s)
 “ are ever fatal to the wretched. In every
 “ point of view that he can be furveyed,
 “ we furvey a monfter. His politics are
 “ TYRANNY; his law, CAPTIVITY
 “ and DEATH.”

What raving is this ! A cell in Bedlam rather than in a prifon, it fhould feem, would be a more proper receptacle for the men who are thus poffeffed of the *Evil Spirit*.

It is ftill in the remembrance of fome, that when Mr. *Thurlow* entered upon his office of Attorney-General, an univerfal panic feized the fraternity of authors, printers, and publishers; and the vigour with which he called into exercife the wholefome provifions of the law, againft libellous publications, much intimidated the *patriotic* heroes of the quill. Fearful of
 confequences

consequences, the author of the *Jockey Club*, no doubt for similar reasons, (for the laws are still the same, nor is the energy of their administration enervated) is taken with a terrible tremor, when he meets the piercing eyes, and views the masculine visage, of Lord Thurlow.

Others of the Judges who (to this day) preside in our courts of law, are by this writer dragged forth to public view in a like indecent manner. But the paroxysm of his rage seems a little abated when speaking of these characters. The same contempt however of the laws and magistrates of his country never forsakes him: and it appears as if his sole motive in the introduction of these great law characters, was to find an opportunity of libelling the whole code of English jurisprudence. Barristers, and Attorneys, and every part of the profession, has he represented in the most odious colours: the Judges are reminded that their predecessors have “ trembled on the bench, “ through dread of popular vengeance:” he tells us, that “ in all countries the
infamy

infamy of lawyers is proverbial, and that as during many centuries this country was *priest-ridden*; now it is under the government of *legal tyrants*."

Of Mr. *Erskine*, we are told, that " his chief professional merit consists in the art of *playing* on the passions." A very curious kind of play certainly; but we presume there would be something more than *play*, if that gentleman should be concerned in a prosecution against this writer, who never himself using fair play, might provoke from others what he would be apt to call very foul.

Mr. *Garrow*, another gentleman who has arisen to eminence in his profession, through the sole influence of his talents and application, is called in this publication " a conceited, *ignorant* upstart." If the public opinion accorded with this representation, in vain might this gentleman hope for any employment in his profession, as his "*ignorance*" might be the ruin of his client: but if the public are of a contrary opinion,

(which

(which they certainly are, as appears from his great practice,) then cannot the excellence of our laws be better exemplified, than by convincing the author of the libel, that in this country no man's professional character can be attacked with impunity.

Imprisonment for debt is one of the subjects on which the author appears as if he never could say enough. With an uncommon affectation of humanity he becomes the advocate of insolvents, and condemns "the cruelty of their confinement," "for not paying their just debts, *because* "they have not the means of settling "them!"

No benevolent man will refuse his sympathy to the unfortunate tradesman, whose misfortunes have precipitated him into a place of confinement, where his situation precludes the possibility of his recovering from his degraded condition. But certainly some regard must be had to original contracts—some justice be allowed to creditors, and a few of those considerations must be
G
admitted

admitted in this question, which the nature of all commercial concerns naturally suggest.

Another plea in favour of debtors comes from this writer with *singular* propriety.—Alluding to the abridgement of the rules of the King's Bench, he says,

“ It was an act of flagrant injustice,
 “ inasmuch as it deprived the
 “ wretched prisoner of indulgences
 “ which he had purchased at an
 “ exorbitant rate, under the sanc-
 “ tion of immemorial custom.”

Sacred immemorial custom!—rooted in experience!—the wisdom of ages! Thou extortest panegyric from the mouth of thine enemies, even when the tribute of just praise is most distant from their intentions!

Strange that such reverence should come from the man, whose outrageous, but impotent, publications are intended to undermine all immemorial custom, whose sneers

are directed against “ virtues of buried ancestors,” from whom originated our municipal laws, and whose seditious firebrands are ready lighted to consume the ancient records, and all such “ *musty parchments*” of the realm.

The multitude of incoherent declamations which are found in the *Jockey Club*, respecting the theory and practice of our laws, only differ in words; nor always granted to us is even that indulgence. These “ abominations,”—“ this fathomless abyss” that baffles “ the utmost penetration of human wisdom:”—this “ incomprehensible science,”—this “ mysterious perplexity”—this “ vast mass of writings;” that makes the poor gentleman “ shudder;” and all these tremendous things appear nevertheless to be—What?—the genuine offspring of that spirit of equal liberty, which is the singular felicity of Englishmen.

Blackstone was of this opinion; and of these two learned gentlemen, who have

favoured us with the substance of their researches concerning English jurisprudence, we hope no offence ; but we must rather attend to the latter ; and that notwithstanding he was then actually under the *sed* imputation of being SOLICITOR GENERAL TO HER MAJESTY !

It is not with the least expectation of convincing the man who “ mistakes variety “ for confusion, and complicated cases for contradictory,” that we notice this common complaint against the laws of this country ; but it is due to the subject itself that the fact be fairly stated. Let *Blackstone*, therefore, give *his* opinion.

“ Some delays there certainly are, and must unavoidably be, in the conduct of a suit, however desirous the parties and their agents may be to come to a speedy determination. These arise from the same original causes as were mentioned in examining a former complaint ; * from *liberty, property, civility, commerce*, and an extent of po-

* Commentaries Vol. III. p. 327, and 423.

pulous territory ; which, whenever we are willing to exchange for tyranny, poverty, barbarism, idleness, and a barren desert, we may then enjoy the same dispatch of causes that is so highly extolled in some foreign countries.”

“ The causes, therefore, of the multiplicity of the English laws, are, the extent of the country which they govern ; the commerce and refinement of its inhabitants ; but, above all, the *liberty* and *property* of the subject. These will naturally produce an infinite fund of disputes, which must be terminated in a judicial way : and it is essential to a free people, that these determinations be published and adhered to ; that their property may be as certain and fixed as the very constitution of their state.”

“ Hence a multitude of decisions, or cases adjudged, will arise ; for seldom will it happen that any one rule will exactly suit with many cases. And in proportion as the decisions of courts of judicature are multiplied,

plied, the law will be loaded with decrees.” *

If the subject be considered in a *comparative* point of view, still less reason shall we find to regard the unqualified abuse which is poured on the English code of laws.

“ In *Turkey*, says *Montesquieu*, where little regard is shewn to the lives or fortunes of the subject, all cases are quickly decided : the *Basha*, on a summary hearing, orders which party he pleases to be bastinadoed, and then sends them about their business.” †

“ The *Romans*, when the people were little better than sturdy shepherds, or herdsmen, had all their laws in the compass of ten or twelve tables : but as luxury, politeness, and dominion increased, the civil law increased in the same proportion, and swelled to that amazing bulk which it now occupies, though successively pruned and retrenched by the Emperors *Theodosius* and *Justinian*.”

* Commentaries Vol. III. p. 327. † Ibid. 428.

“ The

“ The civil law, the text whereof, as collected by *Justinian* and his agents, is extremely voluminous and diffuse ; but the idle comments, obscure glosses, and jarring interpretations grafted thereupon by the learned jurists, are literally without number. And these glosses, which are mere private opinions of scholastic doctors, (and not like our books of reports, judicial determinations of the court,) are all of authority sufficient to be vouched and relied on, which must needs breed great distraction and confusion in their tribunals.”

“ Of the Canon law the same might be said, though the text thereof is not of half the antiquity with the Common Law of England ; and though the more ancient any system of law is, the more it is liable to be perplexed with the multitude of judicial decrees. When therefore a body of laws, of so high antiquity as the English, is in general so clear and perspicuous, it argues deep wisdom and foresight in such as laid the foundation, and great care and circumspection

spection in such as have built the superstructure."

To little purpose, therefore, do they bring us " the examples of arbitrary governments, as Denmark, Muscovy, and Prussia; of wild and uncultivated nations, the savages of Africa and America, or of narrow domestic republics in ancient Greece and modern Switzerland; and unreasonably require the same paucity of laws, the same conciseness of practice, in a nation of free men, a polite and commercial people, and a populous extent of territory." *

Partial representations are the common subterfuges of prejudice. Thus the author of the *Jockey Club*, after an enumeration of some abuses which may have attended the administration of justice, arguing from particulars, makes the following general conclusion; " beauties like these, in a code of law, certainly are entitled to a lawyer's " panegyric."

* Comm. Vol. III. p. 326, and 328.

By

By these practices of men who endeavour to deprive the “magistrate of his respect, and the laws of their authority,” people are led into reflections, which in their minds never before existed; and should they suffer such impressions to subside, without enquiring into the truth of the representations which produced them, nothing would remain but disgust, of which were they interrogated, they could give no satisfactory account, and prejudices against the law and the magistrate, which would soon grow into an hatred of the one, and contempt of the other.

Such is the expeditious mode by which men are graduated in the school of faction; and through the influence of such transient impressions, do they profess themselves advocates for reform. Let us then cast a retrospective glance on the laws which are said to be so horrible, on this “theory of abominations.”

It is said by a celebrated foreigner, * that this country is a land, perhaps the only one in the universe, in which political and civil liberty is the very end and scope of the constitution. Arguments are not wanting to demonstrate the truth of this position, and there is no individual that can be ignorant of these arguments, who will impartially study the laws of this country, which Sir *Edward Coke*, when speaking of the theory, calls “ the absolute perfection of reason.”

The Common Law of this Realm was properly denominated by *William the Conqueror*, “ *bonæ approbatæ antiquæ regni leges* ;” † as their origin may be traced back to the time when the history of this country is involved in impenetrable obscurity.

Many ancient writers speak of certain customs and decrees which were held in reverence even in the time of the *Druids*. *Cæsar* treats largely on this subject: and

* Montesquieu. † Coke’s Inst.

another

another historian says, “ *Britannia suis Legibus usa est.*” Sir John Fortescue supposes that many of our laws had their origin from the *Druids*, notwithstanding the variety of people which at different times inhabited this island; observing, that the Romans, Saxons, Danes, or Normans would have altered them, had they not been remarkable for their reason and equity, especially the Romans, who gave laws almost to all the world.

The different customs and decrees peculiar to many of these nations, which were introduced at the time they severally resided in this country, considerably enriched the infant code. Our English *Justinian*, *Edward* the Confessor, selecting out of these institutions the most valuable, reduced them into one body, called the *Common Law*. *

The

* *Hoveden*, and the author of an old MS. Chronicle, assures us that the work was projected, and begun by his Grandfather King Edgar.

Both these undertakings seem to be no more than a new edition, or fresh promulgation, of *Alfred's* code or Doom-book, with such additions and improvements

The Norman Conqueror, after this, caused a review to be made of these laws, and rejecting some, added to the rest certain ordinances of his native country.

But the *antiquity* of English jurisprudence is its smallest recommendation : — its intrinsic *excellence* is of much greater importance *, and not less certain.

The Common Laws of England are grounded upon the law of God, and extend themselves to the original law of nature, and the universal law of nations. †

“ Man, considered as a creature, must necessarily be subject to the laws of his Creator, for he is entirely a dependent being; but a state of dependence will inevitably oblige the inferior to take the will of him on whom he depends as the rule of his conduct, in all those points wherein his dependence consists; and consequently as man
ments as the experience of a century and a half had suggested. * Commentaries, Vol. I. Introd.

† Lord Ellesmere.

depends

depends absolutely upon his Maker for every thing, it is necessary that he should in all points conform to his Maker's will: and this will of his Maker is called the *law of nature*.

“ This law of nature being coeval with mankind, and dictated by God himself, is of course superior in obligation to any other. It is binding over all the globe, in all countries, and at all times.

“ In order to apply this to the particular exigencies of each individual, it is necessary to have recourse to reason; but the reason of man is corrupt, and his understanding full of ignorance and error.” Hence arises the necessity for “ the benign interposition of divine providence; which, in compassion of the frailty, the imperfection, and the blindness of human reason, has been pleased to discover and enforce its laws by an immediate and direct *revelation*. The doctrines thus delivered are called the revealed or divine law, and are to be found in the holy scriptures. And if men were to live in a
state

state of nature, unconnected with other individuals, there would exist no occasion for any other laws, than the *law of nature*, and the *law of God*.

“ But man was formed for society ; he is incapable of living alone, nor indeed has he the courage to do it : and as it is impossible for the whole race of mankind to be united in one great society, they must necessarily divide into many, and form separate states, commonwealths, and nations, entirely independent of each other, and yet liable to a mutual intercourse. Hence arises a third kind of law, called the *law of nations*,” *

Such is the ground-work of a code of laws, in which antiquity, wisdom, and justice, are equally conspicuous,

But we are told that the executive magistrate “ may commit all the iniquity and “ barbarism that can stain the character of “ human nature †, and that under the sanc-

* Commentaries, Intro. Sect. II. † Jockey Club, Part II. page 154.

“ tion of the laws.” This assertion is of a piece with many more of this author. We have been hitherto taught, that in criminal laws, the punishment is derived from the particular nature of the crime ; and not from the caprice of the judiciary power, but from the very nature of the thing expressed in the code.

Mr. *Locke* treats this subject in the following manner :

“ Whoever has the legislative power
 “ in any commonwealth, is bound
 “ to govern by *established standing*
 “ *laws*, promulgated and *known* to
 “ the people, and not by extem-
 “ porary decrees ; but by Judges,
 “ who are to decide controversies
 “ by those laws.”

When we are told, therefore, that
 “ under the sanction of the laws, may be
 “ committed all the iniquities and barba-
 “ rism that can stain the character of hu-
 “ man nature ;” it is no doubt intended for

us to understand that the code itself is a system of iniquity and barbarism. These aspersions may meet their punishment, but are in every point of view beneath replication.

Of the Statute Law of this realm, no greater encomium can be bestowed upon it, than what is contained in its definition.

“ The Statutes are either *declaratory* of the common law, or *remedial* of some defects therein.”

Every objection, therefore, that is urged against the statute law, with regard to its multifarious nature, is a compliment paid to its excellence. In proportion to the wants and refinements of men, to the lapse of time, and the fluctuation of things, will be the necessity of emendations and additions, with regard to the laws not only of this, but of every well-regulated community.

The

The country that prescribes this polity, commands our admiration ; the legislators who enforce it, our respect and gratitude. And so far from being an evil, we consider it as a blessing, in which wisdom and virtue are equally conspicuous.

We regard these huge folios as the legacies of our ancestors, and agree with Lord *Bacon*, that our laws being as mixed as our language ; as our language is so much the richer, the laws are the more complete.

LIBELS.

THE Romans made an ordinance, that any Poet who should compose verses to the *injury* and *scandal* of their lives and reputation, should be punished with death,

The English have likewise laws for the protection of their lives and reputation, which, if not of the sanguinary nature of the Roman Institutes, are sufficiently vindictory to prevent any attempt on our good name to pass with impunity.

Libels, * in the laws of this country, are thus defined: “ They are malicious

* “ But if the libel is only against a private person,
 “ yet it deserveth severe punishment; for albeit the
 “ libel be against one, yet it *inciteth* all those of the
 “ same family *to revenge*, and so tendeth by consequence
 “ to quarrels, and breach of the peace, and
 “ may be the cause of effusion of blood, and of great
 “ defamations

“ defamations of any person, and *especially*
 “ of a *magistrate*, made public by printing,
 “ writing, signs, or pictures, in order to
 “ provoke him to wrath, or *expose him to*
 “ *public hatred, contempt, and ridicule.*”

This definition may serve as an answer to the question, “ In what does a libel consist ?” A question which the author of the Jockey Club having proposed, † neither answers, nor does he appear to have been capable, for he instantly begins to rave about, “ the vile interested jargon of
 “ lawyers :” to call by foul and hard names the man who justly threatens him with prosecution ; to anticipate the favour of the
 “ English Jury” which may try him ; and to complain bitterly of the disingenuity of
 “ tormenting *him* with prosecutions, who
 “ is endeavouring to inculcate the principles

“ inconvenience. But if it be against a *Magistrate*,
 “ or other public person, it is a *greater* offence, for
 “ it concerneth not only the breach of the peace, but
 “ the *scandal of government.*”

5 Co. 125.

• Blackst. Comm. Wood, 63, c. 3. † Part II. p. 83.

“ of moral and political virtue.” After this, being taken of a sudden with a penitent fit, on account of “ his innumerable follies and extravagances,” he tells his countrymen, that if the law can be the instrument of punishing an advocate for virtue, it is time for them all to run away ! A piece of generalship long before this recommended in the Adventures of Sir *Hudibras*.

Our author, however, kindly promises for himself, to try the event, before he leaves us in the forlorn condition to lament the want of such an able advocate for all moral and political virtue. “ Should necessity demand it, the real author will voluntarily and chearfully come forward, and throw himself on the justice of his countrymen.” And except *that* justice slumbers, it is more than probable this writer may very shortly find himself under the necessity which he so readily anticipates ; for there are passages in his work which would almost rouse its vengeance from the sleep of death.

In turning over these volumes, it is scarcely possible to follow in any order the daring libels which they contain ; libels not less notorious for their magnitude, than for their number.

In his comparison between *Louis XVI.* and *George III.* the author is guilty of the most scandalous reflections against both these Sovereigns. But while he basely insults the French Monarch,

“ *Torn from his high estate,*”

And uncertain every hour but that at *thenext* he may be “ welt’ring in his blood,” the regicide, in the ecstasy of his malignant and inhuman delight, seems to have forgotten that the British Monarch is not imprisoned ; and that he never will be, except, indeed, the Almighty in his wrath should deliver up this country to the merciless depredations of an host of out-lawed and abandoned miscreants, in whose fight a King would be considered worthy of nothing but death and loyalty of execration.

The

The British Monarch enthroned in the hearts of his people, has his thousands, and his tens of thousands of loyal subjects who are all true Englishmen; who will never suffer to be violated that constitution which, (maugre the scorn of the Jacobin crew,) they will still call *excellent*, and which they will still support.

The British Monarch has not to fear the avowed combination of assassins, who threaten the life of every King in Europe. They know too well the bravery of Englishmen, who, if such an infernal attempt were made, would let fall their vengeance on the miscreant perpetrators; and chase the conspirators from pole to pole, till they had rid the world of that infamous and accursed combination.

We are justified in imputing the worst of motives to the conduct of that man, who is sufficiently base to trample on the unfortunate and helpless object who has not the power of replication.

Had

Had the French King been obliged to consider all political speculations in no other view than that in which they were propounded to him, he must have been a slave, and subject to the worst of all bondage.—What would then have become of the “Rights of Man?” of his best and most valuable rights, freedom of thought, and liberty of action? It is out of the question, whether prejudice or interest, or both, influenced his decisions:—(whose decisions are free from such influence?) the enquiry is, was he, or was he not, at liberty to decide? If it be answered in the negative, such an answer involves in it the vilest tyranny: if in the affirmative, the most monstrous and notorious facts will demonstrate the falsity of the assertion.

Had the French King no individual right of judging in this concern as well as his subjects? Had he no interest in the business, or does his misfortune of being born to a crown make him an outlaw of nature?

“ But,”

“ But,” it has been said, “ he was at liberty to abdicate the throne.” Generous indulgence ! admirable alternative ! This astuteness was reserved for the enlightened period of the 18th century, in which an act of forcible deprivation is justified on the ground, that if the sufferer be discontented, he may, by relinquishing his rights, readily be eased of his scruples !

Had the French King even done this, it would have subjected him to a train of evils greater perhaps than those he has already suffered. Not to speak of miracles, which alone could have saved him from an incensed multitude, the light in which he would have been considered, and the treatment he would have received throughout Europe, must have been to him worse than death.

What then could he do, but avail himself of a doctrine, the orthodoxy of which was never before disputed, that “ a forced consent is never binding.” It is strangely paradoxical, that people, whose plea for overturning, with a whirlwind of fury, all ancient

cient constitutions, is decorated with the name of *Liberty*; should themselves think no punishment too great for the man, whose only crime appears to be a firm endeavour to support his own individual freedom !

The unfortunate Monarch being precipitated into this critical situation, and then ensnared by the seizure of all his papers, is held up to the world as a man “ not fit to live.” Such is the language of the author of the *Jockey Club*, who, in addition to this, describes him as one, upon whom was lost
 “ all the unmerited confidence and magnanimity that he experienced,—of systematic treachery and ingratitude,—guilty
 “ of *horrible designs*, which he meditated against his subjects—whose facts
 “ were in eternal contradiction with his professions; and who never ceased to act
 “ a double jesuitical part, * adopting every
 K “ stratagem

* This abuse of a helpless character, who is precluded from any reply to the calumny, and from the power of avenging the insolence of the author, is one proof among many to be found in the works of this
 advocate,

“ stratagem his infernal satellites could devise to vilify and *overthrow the constitution*, under the insidious pretence of defending it.”

Such are the descriptions of a *character*, concerning which the author dares to affirm there is, in the King of England, “ *a striking resemblance.*” When he *boldly* “ comes forward to throw himself on the *justice* of his countrymen ;” they will give him an opportunity of being practically acquainted with that *justice* he so much admires in theory. They will not suffer libels, sedition, and treason to go unpunished. They will not suffer to pass with impunity the daring and outrageous malevolence of the man, who after painting in the

advocate, “ for all moral and political virtue,” of the *singular* propriety of his adopting the following motto :

“ *Homo sum, nihil humani a me alienum puto.*”

His own observation, when applied to himself, is a solitary instance “ that he has in no respect whatever “ transgressed the bounds of truth ;” when he makes the amiable confession, that “ to attack the helpless “ and unfortunate, under any circumstances, is base “ and inhuman.”

blackest

blackest colours, *a character*, no where to be found but in his own black imagination, and after giving it a name, compares it with the British Monarch, and utters the detestable falsehood that there is between them “ a general similitude.”

At the beginning of this odious and unjust comparison, he sets out with the following indecent observation respecting the two Monarchs of France and England; “ this pair of *Royal Jockeys* have nearly run “ the same race, with *equal advantage* to “ their subjects.”

There are three things contained in this declaration; an allusion to their executive government—a resemblance in the conduct of these two Princes—and the benefits which their subjects respectively derive from each. The evident intention of all which is, for the reader to consider every declaration respecting the former, as equally meant to include the latter. The consequences of this comparison are obvious; and there remains one subject which is not less so, the

deserts of the writer, which, according to his own desire, we shall leave to “ the justice of his countrymen.” To assist them in the work, however, we have selected the following specimens of his *loyalty*.

Speaking of *Louis XVI.* * he is said to have been “ unable to forsake that system
“ of *treacherous policy* which he had adopted, and which by long and constant
“ practice was *rooted* in his character; flattered and encouraged in the most *sanguinary*
“ projects by those about him, who would never suffer his weak unhappy
“ mind to rest,—his *hypocrisy* revealed,
“ &c. &c.

THE COMPARISON. †

“ There are in many instances a *striking*
“ *resemblance* in the *virtues* of these two
“ *Royal Jockeys*,” who “ have nearly run
“ the same race, with equal advantage to
“ their subjects.”

* Part III. p. 27. † Part III. p. 16 and 23.

The character of *Louis XVI.* is in another place thus described :—“ The King
 “ a *perjured traitor*, convicted of violating
 “ the oaths of allegiance he had sworn to
 “ the constitution, at once *absolved the*
 “ *people from every obligation of allegiance to*
 “ *him.*” *

THE COMPARISON.

“ There are in many instances a *striking*
 “ *resemblance* in the *virtues* of these two
 “ *Royal Jockeys,*” who “ have nearly run
 “ *the same race*, with *equal advantage* to
 “ their subjects.”

Again; “ Nations have long been dis-
 “ tracted by civil and foreign broils. The
 “ vile interest of Princes cements the dis-
 “ cord, and the abused, unhappy people
 “ suffer. The *crimes* of the Kings of France
 “ have been faithfully translated and pub-
 “ lished in London.”

* Pat III. p. 30.

THE COMPARISON.

“ Would the *crimes* of the Kings of
 “ England appear less horrible, or would
 “ the history of the present reign cast a
 “ light on the shade, &c. &c.—When we
 “ reflect that the present military establish-
 “ ments in India, founded on *tyranny* and
 “ *usurpation*, promise no less sinister ef-
 “ fects, as the plan is equally impolitic,
 “ barbarous, and unjust.”

Monstrum horrendum ! If all this be true,
 what will become of us ?

It would be a dismal and endless task to follow this madman over hill and through the dale, scattering as he passes on “ fire-
 “ brands, arrows, and death.” It would be equally fruitless the attempt to stop him in his career, and to tender to him reason, while this *melange* affects his brain. As nothing in his view is too bad for the comparison, neither is one language sufficient for

the purpose of defamation. When speaking of royalty, he gives us in a note, another instance of his modesty, and “strict impartiality.” “The word *Brigand*, (Robber) seems particularly applicable to Royalty, and Kings may be reckoned

“LES CHEFS DES BRIGANDS.” *

It might have been expected that this writer, after glutting himself with the detail of so many *outré* tales, which he has raked together concerning the *Queen of France*, (*jusqu'à l'excès*,) would for the sake of a little novelty, have found an occasion to bestow a little praise, especially when to his self-erected tribunal he drags from her domestic quiet the *Queen of England*. Vain expectation!

“Fair names, which at the early morn
 “Their snow-white leaves may spread;
 “By cursed slander's with'ring blast,
 “Ere night are stricken dead.

* Prat III. p. 26.

Of

Of this personage, the country which gave her birth, and even her very *virtues*, are made the subject of contempt and ridicule. He, who immediately before had been execrating, because she intermeddled with state affairs, one Princess; according to his usual liberality, fails not of imputing to to the other, though of a conduct uniformly mild and irreproachable, the worst of motives. To counterbalance the mortification of acknowledging the fact, he says,

“ It is only of late that she (the Queen of
 “ England) has shone any way conspicuous
 “ in a sovereign character. Many years
 “ she remained altogether behind the curtain,
 “ it being long universally imagined
 “ that her cares were solely devoted to her
 “ nursery, and her popularity with the nation
 “ was derived from an amiable modesty and
 “ disinterestedness, never meddling in public
 “ transactions; while there are many who now
 “ scruple not to pronounce, that she was playing
 “ the deepest game of HYPOCRISY, and that the
 “ Royal George never decided on any measure,

“ measure, without having first deliberated
 “ with the prudent and artful Charlotte.”

“ It was the regency business which
 “ first brought her forth into the front of
 “ action, where her real character was de-
 “ veloped, and shone in its *native* colours.
 “ In that dark hour, according to report,
 “ the horrible fate that threatened her hus-
 “ band appeared a very—” (trifling I sup-
 pose he means) “ consideration ; her grief
 “ for him was absorbed in the interest and
 “ anxiety she discovered to provide for her-
 “ self.”

Sweet are the waters of scandal, but
 sweeter far when tinged with the ore of
 misrepresentation.

Does the author of these passages desire,
 that what he has uttered may be credited,
 or not ? If he does, he is guilty of an in-
 famous and scandalous libel ; if he does
 not, his libel is still more infamous, it be-
 ing aggravated by wanton and base fabrica-
 tions. Neither plea, however, can save
 L him

him from the consequences of this Essay towards “ exposing to public hatred, contempt, and ridicule,” an exalted character, not more known than respected.

The next subject that falls within our notice, is the constitution of this country. The offences of which this writer has been guilty, which, by our lawyers, are called “ *misprisions*” against the King’s *person* and *government*, in “ giving out scandalous “ stories concerning him,” endeavouring to “ weaken his government, and to raise “ jealousies between him and his people,” we have already made out, together with the rest of his crimes on that head.

In the contumely *then* under consideration, we beheld a subject turned the assassin of his Prince, and aiming a mortal thrust at his heart. We now see the traitor extending his infernal purpose, and attempting at the same time the destruction of his *King* * *and country*; a purpose which
can-

* “ A blind adherence to this fatal contumacy
“ has plunged France in the blood of its citizens,
“ and

cannot be mistaken, which cannot be denied. To what other end are directed the furious declamations which are echoed from all quarters by the men whose avowed intentions are to “undermine a system” founded on principles of which the wisdom, the order, and the benefits, will never be flighted, will never be resigned, till we become too ignorant to discriminate, or too unworthy to enjoy.

The following descriptions of our government and country are given to the world by the man whose pious purpose is to disseminate “all *political virtue*.”

“There are as many crying and cruel evils existing under the English, as under the most despotic Governments of Europe*.”

“The American war inflicted an additional burthen of *one hundred million* of and deprived Louis of the *only honourable crown in Europe*.” Jockey Club, Part III. p. 19.

* Part III. p. 125.

taxes

“ taxes on the people of this country,
 “ while the constitution acquired a tower
 “ of strength from its *murderous* policy.
 “ But the horrors of this system are bound-
 “ less. To support it, the most execrable
 “ engines are employed. A ruffian, arm-
 “ ed with the force of legal tyranny, at
 “ the dead hour of night, invades the
 “ sanctuary of domestic quiet.—Liberty
 “ receives a mortal wound from the poi-
 “ soned arrows of excise; and all possible
 “ enormities, robberies, suicide, and mur-
 “ ders, are *encouraged* by means of lotte-
 “ ries, &c. Thus the people are invited,
 “ and driven, as it were, into crimes,
 “ which afterwards, as a grateful reward
 “ for having contributed to your *system*,
 “ you punish with a halter.

“ Is the miserable farce of royalty, that
 “ political humbug, to be kept up under
 “ such an infinity of discouraging exam-
 “ ples, to its present enormous magni-
 “ tude * ?

* Part II. p. 47.

“ The

“ The real dignity and interests of a
 “ nation consist in a system the very re-
 “ verse of that which constitutes the spu-
 “ rious * dignity of a crown †.”

In this manner is the Government of our country held up to view. On such passages as these, on such wilful and malicious aspersions, it would be useless, it

* “ The *tenor* of a thing is the transcript and true
 “ copy of it.” 2 Salk. 417.

Of the great care which this writer *sometimes* manifests to *guard* his insinuations, we have only to say, he should either have done it better, or not at all. The Public sufficiently understand his meaning; indeed, it cannot be mistaken.

On the subject of “ immolating unhappy men,” however, he generally forgets himself, and speaks out sufficiently “ *broad*,” for he calls it a “ savage practice—to the *vices* of Government.” And if we are to believe what he says in another place, *then* it may be so: viz. “ Of the poverty and vice, the “ ignorance and inequality of condition, to be found “ in the miserable quarters of this city, the original “ evil is in Government.”

† Part II. p. 44.

would

would be folly, to make any comment. And if such insinuations, if such practices, be suffered to pass with impunity, then may the author find some who will credit what he says, when he tells us, “ that
 “ there prevails in England, at the present juncture, a degree of selfishness
 “ and universal depravity, with an apathy
 “ and indifference to public concerns, un-
 “ exemplified at any former period of its
 “ history, or even by France herself, in
 “ the meridian of her former despotism.”

THE

THE SYSTEM.

“ We have invariably exerted our *best* Abilities to
 “ undermine A SYSTEM so fatal to the Peace
 “ and general Happiness of the World.”

Jockey Club, Part I. p. 176.

“ THE SYSTEM is erroneous.”

Idem, Part I. p. 7.

“ IF I should undertake to say that there
 “ never was a good government in the
 “ world that did not consist of the three
 “ simple species, of Monarchy, Aristoc-
 “ racy, and Democracy, I think I might
 “ make it good*.” This opinion of *Sid-
 ney* is the opinion of all the best writers
 on politics ; and is found to be realized in

* Sidney on Government, Chap. II. § 16.

the British Constitution. The union of the three interests, which are equally concerned in the legislative power, is to the state, what the spirit is to the body, its health and conservation.

Against the representative body is reiterated the charge of corruption. If we inquire how it appears, we find it to consist in their being deaf to the clamours of the discontented and the factious (and such are always to be found) and in their determined conduct to strengthen the political fabric, which it is as much their solemn duty, as the national interest, to preserve entire.

The body of the Nobles (and there are not to be found any just and solid reasons why it should not be so) is hereditary. It is so by prescription; it is constitutionally so; and it is as much for the interest of this country, as it is for individuals, that it should always continue the same. Call them by what you please, by their titles

or their names, always will there be in a state, men distinguished by their birth, their riches, or their honours, all of which are sure to be obnoxious to those who are distinguished by neither. These being in every state, without comparison, the majority, would not fail to overpower that body, that in rank being so much above themselves, is an incitement to envy; and in numbers being so much less, would provoke rapacity. It is therefore essential to liberty, that the persons and property of one class should be alike protected with the other; and it is consonant to reason, that the ordinances which have hitherto effected their purpose, should continue to be adopted.

Of the executive power, when it is *said*, it is literally *meant*, “ That the King can “ do no wrong* ;” for in his political
capa-

* “ The *virtues* of these two Royal Jockeys, “ which, supposing them to exist, and it might be “ treason *on one side* to doubt it, are merely *nega-*
M “ *tive*,

capacity he has no arbitrary individual power to do any thing; he is constitutionally bound to act by the advice of his Ministers, and according to the laws.

Montesquieu somewhere says, whoever reads the admirable Treatise of *Tacitus*, *de moribus Germanorum*, will find that it is from them the English have borrowed the idea of their political government. This beautiful system was first invented in the woods, and is the offspring of Nature.

In whatever point of view, therefore, may be considered the constitution of this country, it will be found standing alone on a ground equally admirable and unparalleled, possessed of the excellences to be found in every other now in existence, or which in times past has been adopted, with

“ *tive*, no benefit from them having *ever reached their*
 “ *subjects*, and for all possible injury effected by their
 “ *vices*, they have *cartes blanches*, from the wise de-
 “ *cree* established in favour of their ancestors, that
 “ *Kings* can do no wrong.”

Jockey Club, Part III. p. 17.
 few

few of their defects, and none of their enormities. Founded on a charter of liberty, on which foreigners have dwelt with delight, on which they have written with admiration, and concerning which, before “ this eventful period,” there appeared but one opinion among the learned and the virtuous throughout the world.

To undermine *government*, it is now the fashion to begin the attack on *governors*. Dissecting not only their public administration, vilifying not only their responsible characters, but in a dastardly manner, by *corrupting their domestics*, these men collect the private tales of their retirement, make out a catalogue of their frailties and errors, and publish it to the world. Is this patriotism? Is this the method to defend “ all
“ moral and political virtue?” Of such attempts, the commencement and the conclusion are in no respect more dissimilar, than the books and their authors. The men who, under covert of exposing the malpractices of gamesters, break out into flames of sedition against their country,

leave untouched the evil they pretend to remedy, and accomplish no other purpose but the display of their real intentions, which must terminate in their own destruction.

Should an intelligent foreigner ask the natural question—how can it be accounted for, that a people victorious abroad, and happy at home, should have amongst them men who endeavour to undermine the government of a country in which they were born, in which they have been educated, by which they have been protected, and the excellency of which is disputed by none but its own subjects? Is it not evident, that allowing the inquiry to come from an individual unacquainted with the depravity and perverseness of some amongst us, it would be difficult to make him believe, that all this uproar of words, this

————— “ Hubbub wild

“ Of stunning sounds, and voices all confus'd,”

is only occasioned on account of some drops
which these political chymists have found

in the sterling gold of our laws; or by the adventitious errors of some individuals who are appointed to administer their provisions, and to guard against their violation? Would he believe, that the noble superstructure, cemented by age, improved by the successive and united wisdom of thousands, and which every year becomes more perfect, should be attempted to be undermined because its exterior is somewhat impaired and disfigured?

It is time for all true Englishmen to discard their little piques and jealousies. It is time for them to consider, that the people who introduced amongst them their effeminate fashions, may find it equally their interest to disseminate their disorderly principles. We must remember, that if there be any thing in our Government which may admit of a reform, it is on account of the seditious writings and daring practices of its enemies, that we have not the immediate accomplishment of our wishes. There is an old proverb somewhat to this purpose; “ *Blacken, and then call him Devil.*”

“*vil.*” Such is the practice of men, who, for positive blessings, offer us in exchange their cobweb speculations. But finding their purpose defeated by their endeavours to effect it, pitifully lament that “all parties seem united !” And this union will be strengthened in proportion to the attempts which are made against its conservation.

The author of the *Jockey Club*, after the sorrowful lament to which we have just referred, calls upon some to “disdain such trammels :” but as he has not told us who it is, we may suppose him to mean any one who is *wise* enough to hear him. He seems to despair, however, of finding such an one, and tells the unknown invisible patriot, that “such diffidence is no way honourable to his character.” That, “if the occasion be neglected, neither this age nor posterity will have cause to venerate his supineness. The mere sincerity of his wishes will not deserve, nor will he receive the panegyric of history ; he will sink into oblivion !”

Among

Among the subjects which this writer introduces, for the purpose of abusing our magistrates, are the present Continental disputes, and the late war with *America*. And if every other proof were wanting of the generosity of the English nation, it can never be disputed, after the remarkable proof which is given in relation to the present affairs of *France*. That country is sufficiently humbled, without calling up to view her former perfidies, to stare her in the face. We scorn such base retaliation. But if we should reason *à posteriori*, little doubt will remain what her conduct would have been were England in a like situation.

All the world is acquainted, not only with the part taken by the French against us in the American war, but anterior to that event; with the continual efforts made by this people, by their incroachments upon our settlements, and by every scheme and contrivance they could invent to effect a separation betwixt the English and their American Colonies. That which they
were

were incapable of accomplishing by their prowess, they attempted with better success by their policy. This policy, of which so much has been said, and so much is recorded, has uniformly consisted of perfidious intrigues, and disingenuous and dark contrivances. Intrigues against a country which date their commencement at a time when, with that same country, they were negotiating a treaty of peace. Contrivances by every means in their power to assist our enemies, while they were pretending the strictest neutrality with respect to our disputes.

When men, therefore cry out against the expenditure of the blood and treasure of the nation by the American war, let them consider the radical cause of this expenditure. Let them remember the consequences of perfidy ; the judgement which has overtaken the people who were intent, upon nothing so much as the destruction of their neighbours.

We

We repeat it again, we are not “ *trium-
phing*” over them ; nor is there an instance in history when we ever did. If a King of France has been our prisoner, he has been treated with urbanity, with generosity, and with respect. And at this moment, when the inhabitants of France, by thousands, are flocking to this country, they are received with hospitality, and subscriptions are opened for their support.

Notwithstanding the barbarous outcry that is made against the Minister, the people in general are not without a proper sense of the wisdom and humanity which mark the conduct of administration in the present critical situation of Europe. The men who call themselves patriots, begin to be understood ; and the people are no longer deceived by wolves in sheep’s cloathing. Whilst the virtue still exists, and is to be found at what place the least noise is made about it, the nation is no longer to be deluded with the mere *name*, however excellent the *reality*, of patriotism. It is a fine sounding word, and was well enough

N

under-

understood by *Wat Tyler*, *Jack Straw*, and their doughty patriotic adherents.

- “ So may the outward shews be least themselves ;
 “ The world is still deceived by ornament.
 “ In law, what plea so tainted and corrupt,
 “ But being season'd with a gracious voice,
 “ Obscures the show of evil ? In religion,
 “ What curfed error, but some sober brow
 “ Will blefs it, and approve it with a text,
 “ Hiding the grossness with fair ornament ?
 “ ————— in a word,
 “ The seeming truth which cunning times put on
 “ T'entrap the wisest*.

What *patriotic* purpose is in view of the foul seducers, who attempt to corrupt our army and our navy ? Who tell our soldiers “ they are positive slaves ;” who whisper mutiny in the ears of our sailors ; and pretend, with great seriousness and concern, that the situation of a peasant in England is worse than that of a negro-slave in the West Indies.

For what purposes are the necessities of the state, with the utmost exaggerations, by the most incongruous comparisons, represented to our view ? Every state has

* Shakespeare.

its necessities ; and these men are determined we shall not forget a truth equally infallible, that every country has its traitors. These are they who, in the midst of peace and plenty, are ransacking every corner of the commonwealth for subjects, which, however agreeable to their inclinations, will never accomplish their purpose. Who relish not the sweets, but extract the poison from every plant. Who collect only the weeds and bitter herbs of their country ; and the drugs, after being compounded by a diabolical preparation, are made into pills, and vended about the nation to poison its inhabitants.

On this subject let us hear and profit by the sentiments of an experienced politician, who, though often abused, never has been fairly answered.

“ Good order is the foundation of all good things. To be enabled to acquire, the people, without being servile, must be tractable and obedient. The magistrate must have his reverence, the laws their

authority. The body of the people must not find the principles of natural subordination by art rooted out of their minds. They must respect that property of which they cannot partake. They must labour to obtain what by labour can be obtained; and when they find, as they commonly do, the success disproportioned to the endeavour, they must be taught their consolation in the final proportion of eternal justice. Of this consolation, whoever deprives them, deadens their industry, and strikes at the root of all acquisition as of all conservation. He that does this, is the cruel oppressor, the merciless enemy of the poor and wretched; at the same time that by his wicked speculations he exposes the fruits of successful industry, and the accumulations of fortune, to the plunder of the negligent, the disappointed, and the unprosperous*.”

* Burke on the French Revolution.

This is the language of reason, confirmed by facts, and illustrated by the analogy of every truth natural and revealed.

Such

Such are the salutary effects of exaggerating evils, the remedy for which, according to the best prescription, is worse than the disease ; and such the practice of men, who, under the pretence of reformation, try to sap the foundation of all authority, by rendering the laws odious, and the magistrates contemptible. These men, conscious that the only grievance *they* have to fear from government, is its excellence and vigour, spare no pains to abuse its indulgences, sagely expecting, that if others will follow their example of rendering nugatory all law, they shall soon be in possession of the liberty which they so much desire, which is to be independent of all restraint. And such is the literal meaning of *modern* reformation.

The word *Reform* has a kind of necromantic power. Enchanted with the sound, we quite forget the sense ; and think of nothing but impartial justice, and perfect happiness. In our imaginations, the golden age rises to view ; liberty and equality are sung by every bard, and peace and
 plenty

plenty gladden all the land. But, alas !
these ærial systems, when the reality ap-
pears, instantly vanish,

“ And, like the baseless fabric of a vision,
- “ Leave not a wreck behind.”

We are told, a reform of government is necessary. Because some are very rich, while others are very poor ; because some are very warm, while others are very cold, are we seriously told the state ought to be reformed. Next to this, we may expect to hear, that because some freeze at the pole, while others burn under the equator, the natural world ought to be new modelled.

POLI-

POLITICAL LIBERTY.

“**ONE** of the miserable follies of depraved human nature, is, that it commonly neglects present enjoyments, and seldom estimates those good things it possesses at their true value, till deprived of them*.” Than this, no observation is more common, no remark is more just. Fruition and satiety are almost inseparable. Hence in our valuation of comparative happiness, we reason, rather from the estimations of those, who, destitute of the enjoyment, only speculate on its worth ; than from the opinions of such as are in the immediate possession.

Sensible as are by far the greater part of this nation, of the fitness of the actual and positive blessings of the constitution which guards against the violation of their per-

* Mr. Care.

sons and property ; it is, (with a very few instances excepted,) to foreigners, that we must look for the encomiums which in speculation and in practice, this system has been found most justly to deserve. To this constitution has Montesquieu, in his “*Esprit des Loix*” dedicated one of his chapters ; on this constitution has De Lolme written a volume, which is not less honourable to the author than to the subject it contains.

Liberty, independence, and licentiousness, have together been most ignorantly and wantonly confounded : and among the men who use the word, there is scarcely a greater difference in their numbers, than in their opinions. What, if unrestrained, to act as they please, at all times, and upon all occasions, the different interests, partialities, aversions and passions of men were let loose !—What, if the barriers of subordination were broken up, and every one were permitted an unbounded scope of action ! Have we not heard such kind of *li-*
berty

erty extolled? Are not Englishmen exhorted to follow the glorious example?

“ And the example of France, we trust in God, will be successful, and that Englishmen may be inspired by it. * ”

Political liberty is considered both in relation to the *Constitution*, and to the *Subject*.

In the British Constitution are realized the rational design and true end of all civil societies. The people of this country, though they may wish for some wise and temperate reformation in the election of their representatives in Parliament, are still unanimous in considering as the worst of traitors the men who wish to “ undermine ” the constitution. Under this constitution, they enjoy the blessings of liberty, and they esteem it no disgrace in being called “ court sycophants,” and “ treasury hirelings ”—for speaking in its defence.

* Jockey Club, part I. page 7.

What if such levellers had the accomplishment of their wishes who praise the Republican form of government, would that make them more happy? Assume that it would; do we suppose that they would be in consequence more peaceable? We are mistaken if we thus imagine:—they would grow tired of this in its turn, and become clamorous for some other form. But neither would they be advantaged by the change; history stamps a negative upon all such visionary speculations.

In the Republic, decorated even with the Roman name, whatever of popularity might have attended it, the evils and the advantages were miserably unequal. Among the several bodies of their state, what is to be found of harmony—in their occasional and tumultuous laws, what of wisdom—in their loose and disjointed government, disfigured by eternal factions, what of firmness? In constant disorder, in continual fluctuation, we are told these circumstances

are favorable to liberty ; * while they most assuredly operate to its destruction.

Faction is the death of liberty. Carthage, that famous kingdom, flourished, it is true, for many centuries under the Republican form of government : “ But afterwards, “ when the people grew insolent, and “ would no longer depend upon the Senate, all was tumult ; till having by violence assumed more power than they had a right to do, or were able to manage, they became one of the principal causes of its ruin.” †

* To defend innovation, we are commonly told, that were it not for this, we never should have enjoyed the liberties we possess. The fact is the reverse.

The Barons, in manfully uniting for the confirmation of the Great Charter, introduced no innovation, but on the contrary took the most effectual method for its prevention, by rendering permanent that which by prescription was before made sacred. Such was the case in the reign of Henry the Third, “ since “ the Kings, successors of Henry, dreading to expose “ themselves to the like dangers, durst not any more “ venture to revoke these Charters, which are the “ *Basis and Foundation* of the Liberty of the English.”
Rapin, Vol. I. b 8.

† Reflections on Ancient and Modern History.

It has been said, that the constitution may be free, while the subject may not be so; but this is not the case, nor can it be in this country. Of the foundation of British liberties, the chief corner stones are immoveable. These are our Magna Charta, Petition of Right, Habeas Corpus act, the Trial by Jury, to which may be added the Star-Chamber act. For the greater security of the subject, the legislative body (certain temporary suspensions excepted) constantly sits; nor can the Monarch, although possessed of a power to dissolve it, prevent its meeting for any length of time, should he make the attempt. The Stuart family were, in this respect, obliged to sacrifice their inclinations to their necessities

— But — “ The legislative body is corrupt.
 “ The bare name of a town, of which there
 “ remains not so much as the ruins, where
 “ scarce so much housing as a sheep-coat,
 “ or more inhabitants than a shepherd, is to
 “ be found, sends as many representatives
 “ to the grand assembly of law-makers, as
 “ “ Whole

“ a whole county, numerous in people,
 “ and powerful in riches. At this strang-
 “ ers stand amazed, and every one must
 “ confess needs a remedy.” †

And has not Mr. Pitt also acknowledged that this “ needs a remedy ?” Yet the author of the Jockey Club places these two politicians in direct opposition : and fond of his odious comparisons, and large capital letters thus introduces them—

“ PITT *versus* LOCKE.”

But—“ Mr. Pitt has altered his opinion.” Has he indeed ? Then why does he not *say* so ? The son of Chatham has nothing to fear from the concession. We have lately heard from this Senator, that the present *time* is not the most proper for introducing innovations or reforms ; and does this imply that there is nothing in the body politic which “ needs a remedy ?” If Mr. Pitt had been of this opinion, he would have told us that

* Locke on Government.

it would be difficult, if not impossible, to find one:—"because the constitution of the
 " legislature was the original and supremé
 " act of the society, *antecedent to all positive*
 " *laws* in it: and that, when the legislature
 " is once constituted, it has no power to
 " alter the government so long as that go-
 " vernment stands.*" If Mr. Pitt had been of this opinion, he would have told us, that *the people* must be distinguished from *the faction*: that the former believe the inconveniences of the present representation are not so great as they are made to appear: that they are even to be defended, in preference to the doctrines of our modern political new-lights, who would introduce a system, which in reversing all order, would effectually destroy all liberty.

What then are the fruits of liberty? Cannot its existence be ascertained by its effects? Spring not flowers beneath the feet of this Goddess?

* Locke on Government.

Nothing can shew more evidently the false reasonings of pretended patriots, than the result of the old interrogatory—*Cui bono* ! Pursue the inquiry, and it will be found, that instead of the incontrovertible blessings which are the offspring of what is called the old Gothic system : instead of protection and security, tranquil enjoyment, wealth and population, there would result from the visionary speculations of which some men are so enamoured, all the miserable consequences of disorder, riot, and confusion ; terminating in one general indiscriminate desolation.

With honest motives, decent and respectful language to superiors, reverence to the immutable laws of nature, and true philanthropy (for such alone can be true patriots) men may profess themselves the votaries of Liberty ; and deck with ever-greens the altar of the Goddess. No discord will be heard, while such sons of freedom join in choral song, and chaunt the hymn so beautifully conceived by Mr. Addison.

“ Oh ! LIBERTY, thou Goddess heav’nly bright,

“ Profuse of bliss, and pregnant with delight ;

“ Eter-

- “ Eternal pleasures in thy presence reign,
“ And smiling *plenty* leads thy wanton train.
“ Eas’d of her load, subjection grows more light,
“ And poverty looks chearful in thy sight.
“ Thou mak’st the gloomy face of nature gay,
“ Giv’st beauty to the sun, and pleasure to the day.”

PORTRAITS.

“ In the portraits we have given, there did not appear a necessity of adopting any methodical arrangement — No extraordinary depth of learning, or extent of erudition is required to give effect to a publication of this kind : its merits are of a *different* nature.”

Jockey Club, Part I. Page 143.

ON viewing the *portraits* which fill these three volumes, we found it impossible to divest ourselves of the idea of *caricatures* ; for the daubing of this artist is by no means peculiar to himself, and it would be difficult to discover in what he has excelled his contemporaries, except indeed in the grossness of all his colours ; and of these his partiality to the *dead black* is most remarkable.

The colleagues of this promulgator of “moral and political virtue,” however, have hitherto far excelled him in the *number* of their benevolent undertakings. For besides that they have got the start of him as to *time*, their shops are daily replenishing with new caricatures, etched in a charming free style, and agreeing precisely with the Jockey Club in their manner, are likewise very cautious lest we should mistake their subjects. Thus if the King be intended, we find letters and dashes in this manner —G—GE III. if the Queen, R—Y—L C—L—TTE.

As it is not our principal purpose to animadvert here on the individual characters introduced in the Jockey Club, a brief view of this subject will inform us, how much credit may be given to the testimony of this writer, as an “impartial” biographer. For it would carry us far beyond the bounds prescribed to these observations, at this time, to enumerate all the persons mentioned in this collection ; and particularly were we to reply (a task not very arduous

arduous with respect to *most* of the persons which are brought forward) in a way of personal anecdote. There are not wanting facts, which, were they publicly known, would soon convince the inhabitants of this country (did they need conviction) that among the nobility and gentry are to be found some of their best friends and benefactors.

Among the "Portraits," the following are a few of the most conspicuous.

HIS MAJESTY.

“ Fallitur, egregio quisquis sub Principe credit
 “ Servitium; nunquam Libertas gratior exstat
 “ Quam sub Rege pio. Claud. Stil.

A RECAPITULATION of the heinous crimes with which, lost to all shame, the author charges the British monarch, will be a sufficient refutation.

It is scarcely possible to imagine (if any at all) what principle could direct such unqualified, outrageous, and malevolent accusations; nor can we conjecture any motive, except it were to convince the world that the writer had abandoned all natural, civil, and moral obligations; and had bid defiance to every restraint, human and divine.

When

When we are told that His Majesty is possessed of stern and inflexible cruelty, fordid selfishness and avarice; when we are told that his government is nothing better than tyranny, nor his piety than hypocrisy, we turn away from such a “ portrait ” with insufferable horror; and find it impossible not to think, that the *artist* having painted his own likeness, is endeavouring to impose it on the world for that of another person.

THE QUEEN.

“ Your praise the Nobles and Plebeians sing,
 “ With your fair Name the Court and Cottage ring.”
 Tate Imit. Ovid.

IN ancient time, loyalty was ranked among the virtues; Princes were considered as the common father of their subjects, and every bosom glowed with a kind of natural affection to the sovereign of their country.

Not so at this *enlightened* period. High rank and great virtues are in modern times only considered as “superior game” for licentious sport and base defamation. Notwithstanding the amiable conduct of Her Majesty—uniformly amiable; notwithstanding the poignant grief under which she laboured during the indisposition of

one of the best of husbands ; yet is this Princess held up to view in the most execrable light, accused of crimes which it would be infamous even to repeat. We shall only add, that *such* charges carry with them their own refutation.

THE PRINCE OF WALES.

“ ——— Vitiis nemo sine nascitur.

Hor. Lib. I. Sat. III.

SOME cause for blame, amidst the eccentricities and exuberances of a mind naturally open, unsuspecting, and inclined to voluptuous gratifications, often has been employed for the purposes of base invective, and dismal prophecies concerning the Prince of Wales.

In this article, after a preamble, in which the author devoutly hopes “ that
“ the ancient system is nearly at an
“ end,” his Royal Highness is arraigned for keeping bad company—for dishonourable treatment of Mrs. Fitzherbert—and for
the

the total want of active benevolence towards the poor and distressed.

Concerning the first of these, it is only necessary to observe, that he who has occasion to associate with a multitude of individuals, must necessarily be sometimes in the company of some whose conduct cannot be justified. The second charge, respecting Mrs. Fitzherbert, is evidently nothing more than a Canterbury tale, introduced for the sake of anecdote. The third, as it is more serious, is more infamous than either. Is there “no one single instance on record” of the Prince’s generosity?

It is not only well known that there are many, but it is also known, that these instances of benevolence are not artificial; that the Prince, although precipitated into errors through the force of strong passions, has naturally a generous heart, always open to conviction, and in which hypocrisy is unknown. To this

Prince may aptly be applied those lines of Arly, in his verses on the subject of Detraction

- “ Hard and cruel is his lot,
- “ Every merit is denied,
- “ All his virtues are forgot,
- “ All his errors magnified.”

MR. PITT.

“ O dirum exitium mortalibus ! ô nihil unquam
 “ Crescere, nec magnas patiens exfurgere laudes
 “ Invidia !

EXTRAORDINARY talents, and great popularity, have never escaped the mildew of envy. To what we have had occasion already to mention respecting this character, we shall only add an extract from a letter of the celebrated Mr. Day, whose impartiality on this subject will not be questioned.

“ If Mr. Pitt wishes to put the almost-exhausted resources of the country into some order, to make provision for the payment of public debts, and to ease the people of some of their burthens, which, if they are not taken off, will infallibly crush all commerce and industry ; if he will endeavour,

Q 2

deavour, by steadily pursuing these objects, to merit the approbation of the virtuous, *he will certainly meet with it*, and it is their duty TO ASSIST HIM, (not with slanderous falsehoods) each according to his ability.

“ As to the reform of Parliament, I think Mr. Pitt has discharged his promise, and the very reasons which have provoked some of my brother reformers, are with me the strongest motives for admitting his sincerity. To expect that the Minister of a great, and above all, a corrupted state like this should calmly and deliberately demolish the whole frame of government for the sake of making an experiment, is betraying a lamentable ignorance of human nature. I am not myself such a child as either to expect or wish that all government should stand still in such a wonderfully complicated system of society as our own, in order that *two* or *three* reformers may try their skill in greasing the wheels.”

This

This letter is dated September 5, 1785.—
 And let the public judge, whether Mr. Pitt's
 political conduct has not been in perfect
 unison with this advice : whether he has
 not “ put the almost exhausted resources
 “ of the country into order :” and whe-
 ther he has not “ eased the people of
 “ some of their burthens.” As these facts
 defy contradiction, the minister in conse-
 quence actually meets “ the approbation of
 “ the virtuous ;” and they will continue
 “ to assist him, according to their ability.”

. Mr.

Mr. BURKE.

“ If I’m bely’d, shall I turn pale for this ?

“ False honors please, and false reports disgrace,

“ And trouble, whom ?---The vicious and the base”

Creech Imit. Hor.

NOT this veteran in political campaigns—no infamous falsehoods can make him change colour, no invectives, though flying thick around, can discompose his regular operations.

But is this the only man, known in the republic of letters, who has protested against pseudo patriotism? Are there no others to be found, who “ consider those as the
“ worst enemies to the happiness of man-
“ kind, who, in pursuit of an Utopian
“ plan of government, which can never be
“ realized, wish to subvert this beautiful
“ political fabric ?” *

* Monthly Review, Appendix to Vol VIII. page 530.

The attempt of the enemies of Mr. *Burke* to blast his character, originates from a cause of which every person is acquainted. Whilst the author of the Jockey Club endeavors to plant a dagger in the heart of the reputation † of an honest man ; Mr. Burke could not have given a greater manifestation of his integrity, than by acting in the identical manner which has brought upon him such reiterated and unmerited contumelies.

Of his talents, we beg permission to insert an extract from a sketch published in the *Gazetteer*, upwards of thirteen years ago.

“ Mr. Burke’s sources of knowledge are inexhaustible ; and his materials drawn forth with great judgement. His memory is faithful, and his mind teems with the most luxuriant imagery, clothed in the most

† See the story of the *Bond*, Part III. This bond is known to have been cancelled by the party concerned, and Mr. Burke’s character in this affair, remains unimpeached to this day, except by this villainous report and notorious misrepresentation.

elegant

elegant language, and in apt and happy modes of expression. His details are often interesting and important, and always correct : his arguments are plausible, generally logical, replete with information, and never supported upon designed misrepresentation, or wild random assertions, to answer the temporary purposes of debate. His facts are seldom assumed, and when they are, he ingeniously founds them on certain current opinions, perhaps controverted, but known however to exist.

“ His knowledge of parliamentary business is so vast and multifarious, that there is no subject which comes under discussion, whether politics, finances, commerce, manufactures, internal police, &c. with all their divisions and subdivisions, which he does not treat in so masterly and technical a manner, as to induce such as hear him to imagine he had dedicated a considerable portion of his life to the investigation of that particular subject.

“ This sketch we present to our readers, as a very imperfect attempt to delineate
 I the

the uncommon parliamentary abilities of this great political genius. We cannot, however, dismiss the subject, without observing that his abilities are accompanied with a very extraordinary instance of an union of talents, scarcely compatible ; for it is difficult to decide whether he speaks or writes better ; or whether he deliberates with greater judgement, or plans and directs with greater aptitude, sagacity, or foresight."

CONCLUSION.

THE author of these observations judges it necessary, before he dismisses the subject, to observe, that no one individual mentioned in the Jockey Club, has any concern or knowledge in this undertaking: and that he has every reason to justify himself, in declaring, he is not influenced either by interest or prejudice. He feels himself far above regarding any epithets with which he may be branded for his attachment to the venerable and excellent constitution of his country: he disavows all personal enmity against any one individual existing: with certain opinions, and not with persons, he professes to be at variance. And at the same time if it be admitted that there is truth (and God knows there is sometimes too much) in the dismal representations

sentations which are given to the public ; can it be affirmed, that there is nothing to praise ? Amidst the licentiousness of the times, have we less to fear from disorderly and ruinous principles, than from the conduct of a few gamesters ; or can those who love their country, imagine even the *possibility* of its being defaced and torn to pieces, without emotion ? Who can view even the natural and artificial productions of this beautiful country, without deprecating such an event ?

Favoured by nature, this Island, however small in its dimensions, loses nothing of its consequence, when compared with the largest kingdom of the globe. Not to speak of its happy insular situation and temperate air ; the richness of its soil ; its springs, rivers, lakes, forests, and mountains ; or of its animal, mineral, and vegetable productions : this country, for its great wealth and population, its interior polity, and for improvements in arts and sciences, manufactures and commerce, ranks among the first nations of the earth. To

this may be added the enjoyment of liberty, both civil and religious, of which did men by experience know what it is to be deprived of the enjoyment, they would not fancy this country to be a land of bondage.

Despotism and Monarchy have no more natural affinity, than liberty and licentiousness; it is therefore not impossible for the same individual to execrate the despotic tyrant, who is at the same time firmly attached to the limited Monarch. He who is sensible of the destructive effects of tumultuous arbitrations, and lawless mobs, may nevertheless be a friend to freedom; not to a *certain* kind of liberty it is true, but to a freedom which, whilst it includes all, shall benefit every one. He who commiserates the distress, may nevertheless pity the folly of a neighbouring nation; which, in extirpating evils, accumulates others, in number and in magnitude greater perhaps than the former. Even the best affected towards foreign revolutions, by which tyranny is extirpated, may feel an indignant regret that there should exist any men weak

or

or wicked enough to propose the same remedy in this country, where despotism, tyranny, and the rack are equally unknown. Cannot a subject of Britain wish well to his country, without muttering infernal ejaculations, to all the powers of confusion, that, “now, while the minds of men are flushed with the glorious example of France,” that now is the time to

“ ————— cry havoc,
 “ And let slip the dogs of war . . . ”

Cannot men speak of reformation, without provoking the lawless to commit destruction? Cannot they point out defects without exaggerations? Cannot they use freedom of disquisition without insulting magistrates: cannot they use their liberty without abusing it?

The men who deserve well of their country, are those, who when “hollow murmurings under ground, that threaten a general earthquake in the political world” are heard—who, when convulsive motions are felt, bid beware: and imprint a word of *caution*, at a time when

the frenzy for novel and pernicious doctrines is yet far from being universal: when the *multa falsissima et indigna* become contagious by example, and sanctioned by continual and daring precedents.

F I N I S.

